

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 6700

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJ: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF AUGUST 5, 1977
(SALT TWO - 1326)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF AUGUST 5, 1977:

SEMENOV'S FIRST STATEMENT, AUGUST 5, 1977

THE QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN UNDER CONSIDERATION BY
THE DELEGATIONS FOR A LONG TIME NOW INCLUDE THE DEFINITION
OF HEAVY BOMBERS IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 3.

AS A RESULT OF THE EXCHANGES OF VIEWS, INCLUDING THOSE
IN THE DRAFTING GROUP, A COINCIDENCE OR PROXIMITY OF THE
POSITIONS OF THE SIDES HAS EMERGED ON A NUMBER OF ASPECTS
OF THE DEFINITION BEING WORKED OUT IN CONNECTION WITH THIS
MATTER.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE FACT THAT IN PRACTICAL TERMS NO
STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO COMBINE THE SOVIET AND U.S. WORDING
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OF THE CORRESPONDING PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT, AND THAT
EVERYTHING IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, REMAINS BRACKETED IN PARALLEL
TEXTS, NATURALLY IS A SOURCE OF DISSATISFACTION.

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SIDES IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON A
MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS ON OTHER FORMULATIONS FOR INCLUSION
IN THE JOINT DRAFT EXT SHOWS THAT GRADUALLY, STEP BY STEP,

THE SIDES HAVE BROUGHT THE POSITIONS CLOSER TOGETHER IN THOSE AREAS WHERE AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED, AND THEREBY HAVE ADVANCED PREPARATION OF THE DRAFT.

WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THERE ARE NO GROUNDS WHATSOEVER FOR NOT ALSO USING SUCH A METHOD OF WORK WITH REGARD TO REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3.

AS FOR THE AIRCRAFT CALLED BACKFIRE IN THE U.S., THE QUESTION OF WHICH WAS RAISED BY THE U.S. SIDE, THE USSR DELEGATION HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED TO REAFFIRM THAT THIS AIRCRAFT, BEING A MEDIUM BOMBER, CANNOT BE A SUBJECT OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

THERE IS MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE SIDES TO THE EFFECT THAT THE TEXT OF THE DEFINITION IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, SPECIFY THE HEAVY BOMBERS OF THE SIDES SUBJECT TO INCLUSION IN THE 2,400 ESTABLISHED OVERALL MAXIMUM LEVEL.

IN PRACTICAL TERMS THE APPROACHES OF THE SIDES ALSO COINCIDE IN THAT THE QUESTION OF INCLUDING AIRCRAFT AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS IN THE FUTURE WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE SIDES ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS.

BASED ON A STUDY OF THE PREVIOUS EXCHANGES OF VIEWS AND
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FOR THE PURPOSE OF ENSURING CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRESS IN WORKING OUT APPROPRIATE FORMULATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, AT THE JUNE 14, 1977 MEETING THE USSR DELEGATION SUBMITTED A CLARIFICATION OF THE MEANING OF THE TERM "CHARACTERISTICS" WITH REGARD TO THE HEAVY BOMBERS THE SIDES MIGHT ACQUIRE IN THE FUTURE. IN THIS CONNECTION, UNDER THE APPROACH OF THE SOVIET SIDE, THE TERM "CHARACTERISTICS", AS USED IN THE DEFINITION OF HEAVY BOMBERS IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, MEANS THE COMBAT RADIUS OF THE AIRCRAFT WITHOUT IN-FLIGHT REFUELING WHEN IT IS EQUIPPED WITH BOMBS OR AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES FOR ONE OPERATIONAL MISSION.

THE UNDERSTANDING OF THIS TERM PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE, IN CONJUNCTION WITH NAMING SPECIFIC HEAVY BOMBERS, ENABLES NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS RELIABLY TO ESTABLISH PRECISELY WHICH AIRCRAFT OF THE SIDES SHOULD BE INCLUDED AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS IN THE FUTURE AND, ACCORDINGLY, SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE 2,400 AGGREGATE LEVEL RECORDED BY THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING.

WITH REGARD TO THE REMAINING DIFFERENCES ON ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, I WOULD LIKE TO NOTE THE FOLLOWING.

IT HAS BEEN SHOWN HERE THAT THE PROPOSAL TO INCLUDE AIRCRAFT "HOWEVER CONFIGURED" AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS, UNDER WHICH SOVIET TANKER, RECONNAISSANCE AND ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRCRAFT WOULD BE INCLUDED AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS, IS CLEARLY CONTRARY, BOTH IN FORM AND IN SUBSTANCE, TO THE AGREED PROVISION OF THE AIDE MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, ACCORDING TO WHICH THE 2,400 AGGREGATE MAXIMUM LEVEL INCLUDES "HEAVY BOMBERS IF THE LATTER ARE EQUIPPED WITH BOMBS OR AIR-T-SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE NOT EXCEEDING 600 KILOMETERS."

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AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, THE AFOREMENTIONED PROPOSAL IN FACT CONSTITUTES AN ATTEMPT TO REVISE THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED IN VLADIVOSTOK. IT IS CLEAR THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO AGREE TO THIS BECAUSE IT IS PRECISELY THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING THAT CONSTITUTES THE COMMON FOUNDATION, AGREED BETWEEN THE SIDES, ON WHICH THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT MUST BE BASED.

THE SOVIET SIDE PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT IF LIMITATIONS ON TANKER, RECONNAISSANCE AND ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRCRAFT ARE TO BE DISCUSSED AT ALL, THEN THE TERMS OF SUCH LIMITATIONS MUST BE THE SAME BOTH FOR THE USSR AND FOR THE U.S. IT IS PRECISELY FOR THIS REASON THAT THE USSR DELEGATION, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED HERE, AT ONE TIME PROPOSED THAT AGGREGATE NUMERICAL LEVELS, EQUAL FOR THE USSR AND THE U.S., BE ESTABLISHED FOR THESE AIRCRAFT. THIS PROPOSAL HAS NOT BEEN WITHDRAWN; IT REMAINS ON THE NEGOTIATING TABLE.

IN THE COURSE OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS MENTION WAS MADE
HERE OF THE IMAGINARY IMPOSSIBILITY OF DISTINGUISHING BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION BETWEEN SOVIET HEAVY
BOMBERS, ON THE ONE HAND, AND TANKER, RECONNAISSANCE AND
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NATI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRCRAFT, ON THE OTHER. WE NOTED THAT
THERE WERE NO GROUNDS FOR STATING THE QUESTION IN THIS
MANNER. NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION HAVE THE
NECESSARY CAPABILITIES TO DRAW A CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN
A HEAVY BomBER AND A RECONNAISSANCE, TANKER OR ANTI-SUBMARINE
WARFARE AIRCRAFT. AND THIS IS PRECISELY WHAT IS PRESUMED
IN THE PROVISION, AGREED AS A RESULT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS
IN VLADIVSTOK, TO THE EFFECT THAT HEAVY BOMBERS, AND NOT
SOME OTHER AIRCRAFT WHICH ARE NOT HEAVY BOMBERS, MUST BE
SUBJECT TO BEING COUNTED IN THE 2,400 OVERALL MAXIMUM LEVEL.

THE U.S. SIDE HAS REPEATEDLY SAID HERE THAT SUPPOSEDLY
IT LACKED CONFIDENCE THAT SOVIET TANKER, RECONNAISSANCE AND
ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRCRAFT COULD NOT BE CONVERTED INTO
HEAVY BOMBERS.

WE HAVE ALREADY EMPHASIZED THAT THE TANKER, RECONNAISSANCE
AND ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRCRAFT EXISTING IN THE USSR ARE
BY NO MEANS "VARIANTS" OF HEAVY BOMBERS. THEY ARE SPECIAL
MODIFICATIONS OF AIRCRAFT, DESIGNED AND BUILT TO CARRY OUT
MISSIONS HAVING NOTHING INCOMMON WITH THE MISSIONS FOR
WHICH HEAVY BOMBERS ARE DESIGNED AND BUILT. THEREFORE, FOR
PRACTICAL REAASONS, TOO, THE AFOREMENTIONED AIRCRAFT CANNOT
BE USED AS HEAVY BOMBERS OR ADAPTED FOR SUCH USE.

FOR THAT MATTER, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO IMAGINE A SITUATION
WHERE ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER WOULD UNDERTAKE TO DEPRIVE ITSELF
OF TANKER, RECONNAISSANCE OR ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRCRAFT,
TO THE DETRIMENT OF ITS OWN DEFENSE CAPABILITIES.

IS IS OBVIOUS THAT THE DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ARMS
IN THE USSR AND THE U.S. TOOK DIFFERENT HISTORICAL PATHS AND
THAT THEY ARE NOT MIRROR IMAGES OF EACH OTHER. NOT TO TAKE
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THIS INTO ACCOUNT IN WORKING OUT THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREE-
MENT, AND, WHAT IS MORE, TO ATTEMPT TO USE THIS DIFFERENCE
IN ORDER TO OBTAIN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE, WOULD MEAN GOING
COUNTER TO THE OBJECTIVES AND TASKS OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIA-
TIONS.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND IN THE INTERESTS OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 3, ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL ACCEPTABILITY, THE SOVIET SIDE TABLED A PROPOSAL TO ASSUME MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS NOT TO CONVERT TANKER, RECONNAISSANCE OR ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRCRAFT INTO HEAVY BOMBERS. THE USSR DELEGATION ALSO STATED THAT THE SOVIET SIDE DOES NOT INTEND TO CONVERT ITS TANKER, RECONNAISSANCE OR ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRCRAFT INTO HEAVY BOMBERS.

WE EXPECT THAT THE U.S. DELEGATION, TOO, WILL MAKE A SIMILAR STATEMENT WITH RESPECT TO THE U.S. SIDE.

IN CONNECTION WITH THE ABOVE, THE USSR DELEGATION INSISTS THAT THE SIDES BEGIN SUBSTANTIVE WORK ON COMBINING THE FORMULATIONS OF THE DEFINITION OF HEAVY BOMBERS FOR INCLUSION IN THE JOINT DRAFT EXT OF THE AGREEMENT UNDER PREPARATION.

SEMENOV'S SECOND STATEMENT, AUGUST 5, 1977

AS A RESULT OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HELD BETWEEN THE DELEGATIONS DURING THE PERIOD SINCE JUNE 10, 1977, PROGRESS HAS BEEN ATTAINED IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON A NUMBER OF PROVISION FOR INCLUSION IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

WE NOTE THAT THE DRAFTING GROUP HAS PREPARED AN UPDATED JOINT DRAFT TEXT WHICH REFLECTS THE STATUS OF THE WORK ON
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REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE CORRESPONDING PROVISIONS AS OF AUGUST 5, 1977.

THE USSR DELEGATION PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT AS AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON OTHER PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT WHICH STILL REMAIN UNAGREED, APPROPRIATE REVISIONS AND CHANGES WILL BE INTRODUCED INTO THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT. EARLE

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